

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /004 R

66611

DRAFTED BY: EUR/CE:BZOOK:LR

APPROVED BY: EUR/SOV:RBERRY

----- 123155

R 202108Z FEB 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON 5111

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 038577

LONDON FOR HARTMAN

FOLLOWING REPEAT TOKYO 02143 ACTION SECSTATE INFO HONG  
KONG MOSCOW PEKING TAIPEI HONOLULU 19 FEBRUARY.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 2143

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR JA UR CH

SUBJ: RELATIONS AMONG JAPAN, CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

REF: A) TOKYO 0359; B) TOKYO 1033

SUMMARY: THREE-WAY TUG OF PEACE IN TOKYO HAS INTENSIFIED.  
SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAS PROPOSED SEPARATE FRIENDSHIP TREATY  
DIRECTLY TO PRIME MINISTER MIKI AND BEEN GENTLY BUT DEFINITELY  
BRUSHED ASIDE. LATEST ROUND OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY  
(PFT) TALKS BETWEEN CHINESE AND JAPANESE REPORTEDLY MADE  
"MAJOR PROGRESS". THOUGH FOREIGN OFFICE SENSITIVE TO SOVIET  
COMPLAINTS ABOUT INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT,  
SOVIET MOVES MAY HAVE EASED PROBLEM  
OF OBTAINING LDP CONSECSUS IN  
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SUPPORT OF PACT WITH PEKING. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF CONFIRMS PRESS REPORTS THAT AT FEB 13 MEETING SOVIET AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY HANDED PRIME MINISTER MIKI LETTER FROM BREZHNEV SUGGESTING SEPARATE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH SOVIET UNION BE CONCLUDED WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ON PEACE TREATY CONTINUED. BREZHNEV LETTER NOMINALLY WAS REPLY TO MIKI LETTER TRANSMITTED THROUGH PODGORNY TO BREZHNEV BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA IN JANUARY.

2. TROYANOVSKY REPORTEDLY DID NOT REFER TO JAPAN-CHINA TREATY NEGOTIATIONS IN SESSION WITH MIKI. LETTER DID NOT GIVE ANY DETAILS AS TO SOVIET CONCEPTION OF CONTENTS OF PROPOSED TREATY AND MIKI DID NOT ASK. MIKI TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE JAPANESE STAND THAT FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES BEST ATTAINED THROUGH EARLY CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY INCLUDING RESOLUTION OF TERRITORIAL ISSUE.

3. SEPARATELY, FONMIN MIYAWAWA TOLD FEBRUARY 14 PRESS CONFERENCE THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR SEPARATE FRIENDSHIP TREATY WAS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO JAPAN. MIKI'S PRIVATE SECRETARY KITAMURA FEB 14 TOLD DCM REJECTION FOREGONE CONCLUSION, BUT GOJ COMMITTED TO REPLY IN WRITING TO BREZHNEV LETTER IN DUE COURSE. IN COMMENTING TO DCM ON TROYANOVSKY/MIKI MEETING, KITAMURA GENERALLY CONFIRMED ACCURACY OF PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS. HE AFFIRMED THAT BREZHNEV PROPOSAL AND EXTRAORDINARY LOCAL BEHAVIOR OF AMB TROYANOVSKY HAVE GOJ SOMEWHAT PUZZLED. OTHER SOURCES HAVE TOLD OF TROYANOVSKY'S FRENETHIC ROUND OF PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH JAPANESE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS, IN WHICH HE INVEIGHS STRONGLY AND COLORFULLY AGAINST CONCLUSION OF JAPAN-PRC PEACE TREATY. KITAMURA SAID THEY ARE NOT COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH THE CONVENTIONAL RATIONALE FOR UNUSUAL SOVIET OPENNESS OF OPPOSITION TO GOJ RAPPROCHEMENT WITH PEKING -- YET THEY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION. HE ASKED OUR VIEW OF IMPACT ON JAPAN/USSR RELATIONS OF SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSIONS OF CURRENT PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING. THEN HE APPEARED TO CONCLUDE SOVIETS HAVE LITTLE WHICH THEY COULD DO THAT SHOULD WORRY JAPAN UNDULY.

4. MEANWHILE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING ARE ADVANCING.  
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ON FEB 14, CHINESE AMBASSADOR CHEN PRESENTED PEKING'S REACTIONS TO VICE FONMIN TOGO'S OPENING PRESENTATION JAN 16 (REFTEL A). CHEN MAINTAINED THAT PEACE TREATY SHOULD INCLUDE LANGUAGE SIMILAR TO ARTICLE 7 OF 1972 TANAKA-CHOU COMMUNIQUE WHICH PLEDGED TWO COUNTRIES TO OPPOSE ATTEMPTS BY ANY OTHER COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES TO SEEK HEGEMONY IN ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. ECHOING FONMIN MIYAZAWA FEB 10 STATEMENT TO LOWER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, TOGO ARGUED AGAINST INCLUSION

OF ANTI-HEGEMONY ARTICLE, SAYING REFERENCE TO THIRD COUNTRY WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE IN BILATERAL TREATY.

5. COMMENTING ON NEGOTIATIONS, CHINA DIV DEP DIR OGURA TOLD US FEB 18 THAT REST OF CHINESE PROPOSALS LARGELY COMPATIBLE WITH JAPANESE POSITION PRESENTED JAN 16, AND THAT "MAJOR PROGRESS" HAD BEEN MADE. THOUGH ANTI-HEGEMONY REMAINED PROBLEM, OGURA SEEMED CONFIDENT THAT GOJ "WILL PERSUADE THE CHINESE".

6. COMMENT: FONOFF RESOLVE TO "PERSUADE" PEKING AGAINST HEGEMONY CLAUSE IS SOMETHING NEW. EARLIER OGURA TOLD US (REFTEL B) THAT JAPAN WOULD GO ALONG RELUCTANTLY WITH STATEMENT OPPOSING HEGEMONISM IF CHINESE REMAINED ADAMENT. WHILE NEW LINE MAY REFLECT DEEPER FONOFF SENSITIVITY TO ISSUE AS RESULT OF TROYANOVSKY CAMPAIGN, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT SOVIET EFFORTS HAVE EASED THE PROBLEM OF OBTAINING LDP CONSENSUS IN SUPPORT OF THE PACT WITH PEKING. ANY SIGNIFICANT SLOW DOWN IN PACE OF PROGRESS COULD MAKE GOJ APPEAR TO HAVE KNUCKLED UNDER TO SOVIETS, A POSTURE EVEN MOST PRO-TAIWAN "HAWKS" IN LDP WANT TO AVOID. ACCORDINGLY, WHILE A MINORITY WITHIN THE LDP CONTINUES TO RESIST THE TREATY, WE UNDERSTAND THAT PARTY VP SHIINA, SECRETARY GENERAL NAKASONE, AND PARTY POLICY CHAIRMAN NADAO WILL SUPPORT TREATY PROVIDED TAIWAN AND TERRITORIAL ISSUES NOT RAISED. HODGSON UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
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**Draft Date:** 20 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** SmithRJ  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Page Count:** 3  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 TOKYO 0359, 75 TOKYO 1033  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** SmithRJ  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <27 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RELATIONS AMONG JAPAN, CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION  
**TAGS:** PFOR, JA, UR, CH  
**To:** LONDON  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006